THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX — No. 28 — 267 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 9, 1956 — PRICE: 10 Cents

Stalinist Troops Shoot Down Striking Workers in Poznan

Socialism and The State

By Leon Trotsky

[With the disclosure of the monstrous crimes of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union it becomes of vital importance for all class conscious workers to understand the root causes of the degeneration of the first Workers State established by the great October revolution of 1917. Stalin's heirs, the present Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, have recently published their "explanation" of how such crimes could be committed in the land which they say had established "socialism" finally and irrevocably, in 1935. That is, just at the beginning of the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials and the bloody extermination of the whole generation of Bolsheviks who, along with Lenin, constituted the general staff of the October revolution. The Khrushchev "explanation" constitutes an obscene perversion of Soviet history, Marxist theory and sociology. The so-called "friends" of the Soviet Union defended Stalin's most heinous crimes in the name of "building socialism." Leon Trotsky made a brilliant analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet State in his book: The Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and Where is it Going? We publish below the chapter from that book, entitled: Socialism and the State. "The Revolution Betrayed" was first published in 1937. It is now available at Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

I. THE TRANSITIONAL REGIME. Is it true, as the official authorities assert, that socialism is already realized in the Soviet Union? And if not, have the achieved successes at least made sure of its realization within the national boundaries, regardless of the course of events in the rest of the world? The preceding critical appraisal of the chief indices of the Soviet economy ought to give us the point of departure for a correct answer to this question, but we shall require also certain preliminary theoretical points of reference.

Marxism sets out from the development of technique as the fundamental spring of progress, and constructs the communist program upon the dynamic of the productive forces. If you conceive that some cosmic catastrophe is going to destroy our planet in the fairly near future, then you must, of course, reject the communist perspective along with much else. Except for this as yet problematic danger, however, there is not the slightest scientific ground for setting any limit in advance to our technical productive and cultural possibilities. Marxism is saturated with the optimism of progress, and that alone, by the way, makes it irreconcilably opposed to religion.

The material premise of communism should be so high a development of the economic powers of man that productive labor, having ceased to be a burden, will not require any goad, and the distribution of life's goods, existing in continual abundance, will not demand — as it does not now in any well-off family or "decent" boarding house — any control except that of education, habit and social opinion. Speaking frankly, I think it would be pretty dull-witted to consider such a really modest perspective "utopian."

Capitalism prepared the conditions and forces for a social revolution: technique, science and the proletariat. The communist structure cannot, however, immediately replace the bourgeois society. The material and cultural inheritance from the past is wholly inadequate for that. In its first steps the workers' state cannot yet permit everyone to work "according to his abilities" — that is, as much as he can and wishes to — nor can it reward everyone "according to his needs," regardless of the work he does. In order to increase the productive forces, it is necessary to resort to the customary norms of wage payment — that is, to the distribution of life's goods in proportion to the quantity and quality of individual labor.

Marx named this first stage of the new society "the lowest stage of communism," in distinction from the highest, where together with the last phantoms of want material inequality will disappear. In this sense socialism and communism are frequently contrasted as the lower and higher stages of the new society. "We have not yet, of course, complete communism," reads the present official Soviet doctrine, "but we have already achieved socialism — that is, the lowest stage of communism." In proof of this, they adduce the dominance of the state trusts in industry, the collective farms in agriculture, the state and cooperative enterprises in commerce.

At first glance this gives a complete correspondence with the a priori — and therefore hypothetical — scheme of Marx. But it is exactly for the Marxist that this question is not exhausted by a consideration of forms of property regardless of the achieved productivity of labor. By the lowest stage of communism Marx meant, at any rate, a society which from the very beginning stands higher in its economic development than the most advanced capitalism. Theoretically such a conception is flawless, for taken on a world scale communism, even in its first incipient stage, means a higher level of development than that of bourgeois society.

Moreover, Marx expected that the Frenchman would begin the social revolution, the German continue it, the Englishman finish it; and as to the Russian, Marx left him far in the rear. But this conceptual order was upset by the facts. Whoever tries now mechanically to apply the universal historic conception of Marx to the particular case of the Soviet Union at the given stage of its development, will be entangled at once in hopeless contradictions.

Russia was not the strongest, but the weakest link in the chain of capitalism. The present Soviet Union does not stand above

(Continued on page 2)

Anti-Stalinist Wave Rises In East Europe

By George Lavan

The three-day strike and uprising of the workers of Poznan, Poland, has thrown the Stalinist ruling circles of the other "Peoples' Democracies" of Eastern Europe into a panic. They well know that all the conditions, which caused the Polish workers' anger to explode in the streets, exist in their own countries.

That their fears are well-grounded is borne out by the increasingly bolder attitude of the workers, students and intellectuals in these countries, particularly in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Thus the spiral has taken another ascending curve: the never-increasing pressure of the masses forced the successors of Stalin to embark upon their de-Stalinization campaign, but now the masses throughout the Soviet orbit are taking advantage of this concession to speak out openly and to make greater and greater demands. This is in turn producing visible cracks and fissures in the ranks of the ruling bureaucracies in the states of Eastern Europe.

A VIVID EXAMPLE

A vivid example of this process is contained in the New York Times (July 1) account of a meeting in Budapest organized by old-time party members, former partisans and veterans of the underground movement. To an audience of 2,000, over a dozen speakers bitterly described and denounced the party's degeneration and called for cleaning out the leadership.

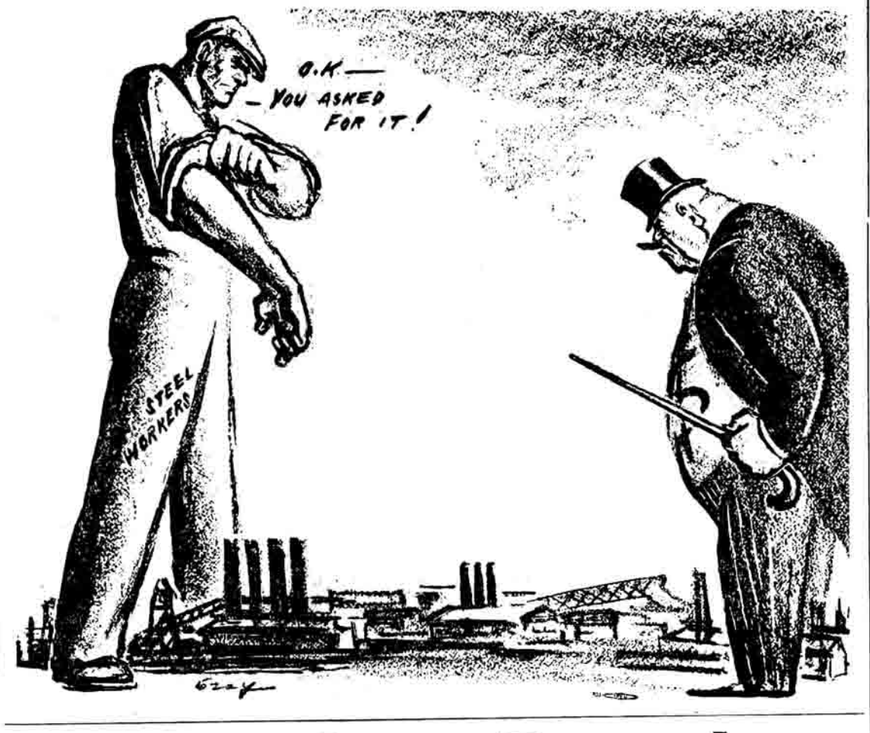
The widow of former Hungarian foreign minister, Laslo Rajk, executed as a Titoist in 1949 and then cleared posthumously as a frame-up victim, pointed the finger of accusation at the present rulers of Hungary when she declared:

"Murderers cannot be rehabilitated. They not only have destroyed my husband, held me in jail for five years without permitting me to see my baby, receive food, letters or clothes, but they have utterly destroyed our country's political, economic and moral life." She charged the CP leaders with having driven devoted socialists from the party and with responsibility for the party's degeneration to the low point of the Rajk frame-up trial.

Other speakers, cheered on by

(Continued on page 3)

A Test of Strength



Corporations Provoke Steel Strike Showdown

By Fred Hart

Three years ago Steelworkers Union president David McDonald paraded through the nation's steel mills with steel baron Benjamin Fairless in a demonstration of the "mutual trusteeship" which, they informed the workers, was to inaugurate a new basis for harmonious labor-management relations.

As 650,000 striking steelworkers now dig in for a long fight the McDonald-Fairless claim of "harmony of interests" is blasted to bits by the ruthless moves of the steel trust to handcuff the union with a long-term contract designed to ensure the continued flow of record profits at the expense of the steelworkers.

It has been quite clear that the steel trust provoked the present strike. Even without a strike, most mills planned a reduction to 80 or 85 per cent of capacity in July, August and September. The auto industry, largest single consumer of steel, has enough material on hand to complete production of 1956 schedules and to begin 1957 model runs.

The steel companies move into the fight with record financial reserves. Profits for the first quarter of 1956 were $312 million, a boost of $100 million over the same period in 1955, itself a record profit-making year.

The companies also have the federal government solidly in their corner. Always quick to use the Taft-Hartley law when the bosses need it, the government announced in advance of the present strike that the anti-labor law would not be invoked until present stockpiles dwindle to the point of "jeopardizing the national welfare." (Profits that is.)

Acutely aware of the uncertainties of economic developments, the steel magnates have made the long-term contract their key demand. Recognition of this fact by the workers has compelled McDonald to resist the company demand for a five-year, no-strike agreement. McDonald however, has hinted at his own willingness to settle for a three-year pact.

Reporting a united rank and file opposition to the five-year contract, the July 2 Wall Street Journal quotes one steel worker as follows: "Five years is out. Take that Chevvy over there. It costs $2,500 today. Five years from now it might cost $5,000 and I'd still be working for what we negotiated today." Another steelworker declared, "I can't see selling my life for four years."

Commenting on company rejection of the union demand for weekend premium pay, one picket said, "I work three weekends a month. What chance do I get to see my kids?" A striker at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works said bitterly, "Everything we gained over the last 30 years, the companies are trying to take away."

RANKS SOLID

The strikers recognize it will be a long pull. One predicted, "This strike'll go on for eight or nine weeks maybe until about a week after Labor Day."

But the ranks of the steel union can be relied on to remain solid throughout the strike. In the course of it they will acquire greater understanding of the need for a militant program and leadership capable of defending their class interests.

Uprising Shows Surge Of Movement Against Bureaucratic Regime

By Murry Weiss

July 4 — The general strike uprising in the industrial city of Poznan, Poland, which started on June 28, has been brutally suppressed by the Stalinist regime's tanks and troops after three days of bitter fighting. The Kremlin-appointed government officials ignored repeated proposals of the insurgent workers' leaders for a cease fire on condition of release of arrested strikers and withdrawal of troops from the city. In the hope of stemming the rising tide of workers' discontent throughout Poland, the high command of the bureaucracy preferred a bloody settlement.

The toll of casualties range from the official government figure of 48 dead and 270 wounded to reports of as high as 600 dead. Reports of arrested workers vary from government figures of 300 to as high as 2,000. The age level of the arrested, all reports seem to agree, is well below 25 years of age.

Socialist-minded workers throughout the world, particularly those in the Communist parties, are seeking with the deepest concern the truth about the Poznan events. Imperialist propaganda, with sickening hypocrisy, attempts to represent this mass action of Polish industrial workers as an "anti-communist" movement inspired by the ideals of the "free West."

At the same time the world Stalinist leaders, in one chorus, declare that the Poznan workers acted as dupes of "imperialist spies and provocateurs."

Rank-and-file Communist workers, determined to oppose the class enemy in every situation, are understandably confused and distressed under this double propaganda barrage. Three years ago they heard the same two explanations of the East German general strike uprising.

At that time every class-conscious worker instintively rejected the imperialist propaganda that two million industrial workers of East Germany engaged in a general strike in the interests of world capitalism. The Stalinist cry that the East German workers were the pawns of spies and provocateurs was greeted with uneasiness and distrust in the ranks of the Communist parties. However, in 1953, the Communist Party leaders in the Soviet Union and in all countries were in a much stronger position with respect to the mass of Communist workers. Today the situation is different.

NOT SO EASY NOW

The Poznan uprising comes at a time when the revolutionary consciousness of the workers everywhere has been shocked to its very depths by the ghastly revelations of the crimes of the Stalin regime in the USSR. Now the Communist workers know, out of Khrushchev's own mouth, that Stalinism practiced mass frame-ups and murder against the best revolutionary elements of the working class and against Lenin's closest comrades and coworkers. The frame-up charge of "spies and provocateurs at work" will not so easily be pinned on the Poznan strikers.

What is the truth about Poz-

(Continued on page 3)

N. Y. MEMORIAL MEETING HELD FOR JOHN G. WRIGHT

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 27 — That John G. Wright, the Marxist scholar who died June 21, was a deeply loved and widely respected man was movingly testified to by the memorial meeting which was held for him here tonight.

The meeting hall was filled to capacity as members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, supporters of other working class organizations, as well as personal friends of comrade Wright gathered together to pay tribute to his memory. Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, presided at the meeting which also heard Morris Stein and Joseph Hansen.

Dobbs read to the meeting from messages which arrived from every part of the country. The messages, from SWP branches and from friends and coworkers of Wright, all expressed grief at his untimely death and hailed his contributions to the socialist movement.

MARXIST TEACHER

In his opening address, Dobbs explained why comrade Wright had won a special place for himself in the hearts of the workers throughout the Party. He was an intellectual with unique qualities, Dobbs said, who had deep respect for the workers and who labored tirelessly to put his profound store of Marxist theory at their disposal. "In every branch of the Party," Dobbs said, "you will find workers who considered him as their teacher."

While paying tribute to Wright as a Marxist leader, Dobbs at the same time recalled his splendid personal qualities. "He was an unusually warm and generous person," Dobbs said. "When he gave a personal gift there was the pleasure of the gift itself, but what always made the gift something very special was the realization that it came from a man who derived the greatest joy from the giving of it."

JOHN G. WRIGHT

The veteran Trotskyist leader, Morris Stein, presented a vivid portrait of "Usick," nickname of the man with whom he had collaborated over the years.

A CRUEL IRONY

Describing the last project they had worked on together, a series of articles for The Militant on the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Stein said, "We finished two articles and blocked out a third early in

(Continued on page 4)

NAACP Convention Sidetracks Boycott Issue

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, July 1 — The 47th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ended here today with no new program or policy to fight discrimination.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, laid special stress on the non-violent nature of the NAACP. While sharply criticizing President Eisenhower for his "do nothing" policy and his failure to intervene in the Southern school fight, Wilkins was careful to point out that "The NAACP is flatly opposed to all forms of violence."

MAIN BUSINESS

The main business before the 800 delegates at the convention, according to Wilkins, was the discussion "of ways and means of further implementation of the Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955."

These are the two decisions that outlawed segregation in the public schools.

The NAACP still trusts the courts to outlaw segregation. On this front there is small hope of victory by 1963, the NAACP target date for complete integration of the Negro in American life. The Southern states boast that desegregation can be stalled for a hundred years if the fight remains in the court house.

KEYNOTE SPEECH

In his keynote speech to the convention, Thurgood Marshall further underlined that there would be no change in NAACP tactics in the fight for Negro equality.

He said that they have a series of more than 30 cases ready to be filed in the Southern states. Marshall stressed that the legal front was the main battlefield for the next year. He had great hopes of victory and cited his experience when a young lawyer handling divorce cases.

"Case after case, the men would scream they just would not pay alimony," he said. "They said they'd rot first, go to jail. Well I don't remember anybody actually going to jail. Beans aren't a good diet and jail isn't a very pleasant place. They all paid off."

Marshall expects the same results from his court cases in the South — capitulation of Southern white supremacists when their pocketbooks are hit. However, the parallel is a poor one because divorce cases concern private citizens. Southern state governments will saddle the taxpayer with court costs — including the Negro taxpayer who is trying to win his way to freedom and equality, and smash segregation.

On another plane was the speech of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice-president of the AFL-CIO, who called for solidarity between Negro and white workers. "Separation of workers upon a basis of race and color, religion and nationality is an abnormal condition, since all workers have the basic interests: decent wages, improved working conditions and shorter hours of work," he said.

"Since well-nigh nine-tenths of Negroes are working people who must sell their labor in the market daily for wages with which to buy food, clothing and shelter, education and recreation, organized labor and the Negro have a natural basis for alliance," Randolph added.

On the political front Randolph correctly scored both the Democrats and the Republicans for their failure to "support and fight for civil rights legislation," but failed to offer an adequate alternative to voting for one or the other party. The best he could do was to call for "independent" votes for individuals.

Unofficial hero of the convention was the Rev. Martin King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. He told the cheering delegates that "The story of Montgomery is the story of 50,000 Negroes who are all tired of injustice and oppression, and who are willing to substitute tired feet for tired souls."

In spite of the obvious success in the fight for equality, the NAACP convention was very chary of giving official support to the boycott. The most they would do was to pass a resolution to "examine" the feasibility of "passive-resistance" for the future. For the present all the past policies will be in effect and no new innovations in tactics will be used at this time. It was quite obvious that the courts would still be the first line defense and offense, while the secondary batteries would continue to be legislative lobbying and petitions.

Detroit Free Speech Forum To Hold Stalin Cult Debate

DETROIT — An important debate on "The Recent Events in the Soviet Union and Their Significance for the American People" will be held here Friday July 13, 8 PM, at the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church, 4638 Fourth. The meeting is sponsored by the Student Committee for Free Speech.

The speakers will be Bolza Baxter, state chairman of the Labor Youth League, and Bob Himmel, who was a candidate for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1954. Baxter is one of the many victims of the witch hunt, now facing a prison sentence because of his refusal to cooperate with a reactionary congressional committee.

The speakers, long connected with two diverse political tendencies, will debate the meaning of the exposure and disavowal of the "Stalin cult" by the present leaders of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, and CP supporters throughout the world.

Harriet Talan, chairman of the recently suspended Wayne University Young Socialist Club, will serve as moderator. There will be a question and answer period and open discussion from the floor. Admission is free.

NEXT WEEK

"When Communism Comes to America"

By LEON TROTSKY

SOCIALISM AND THE STATE

What is the Soviet Union -- Where it is Going?

(Continued from page 1)

the world level of economy, but is only trying to catch up to the capitalist countries. If Marx called that society which was to be formed upon the basis of a socialization of the productive forces of the most advanced capitalism of its epoch, the lowest stage of communism, then this designation obviously does not apply to the Soviet Union, which is still today considerably poorer in technique, culture and the good things of life than the capitalist countries. It would be truer, therefore, to name the present Soviet regime in all its contradictoriness, not a socialist regime, but a **preparatory regime transitional** from capitalism to socialism.

There is not an ounce of pedantry in this concern for terminological accuracy. The strength and stability of regimes are determined in the long run by the relative productivity of their labor. A socialist economy possessing a technique superior to that of capitalism would really be guaranteed in its socialist development for sure — so to speak, automatically — a thing which unfortunately it is still quite impossible to say about the Soviet economy.

A majority of the vulgar defenders of the Soviet Union as it is are inclined to reason approximately thus: Even though you concede that the present Soviet regime is not yet socialistic, a further development of the productive forces on the present foundations must sooner or later lead to the complete triumph of socialism. Hence only the factor of time is uncertain. And is it worth while making a fuss about that? However triumphant such an argument seems at first glance, it is in fact extremely superficial. Time is by no means a secondary factor when historic processes are in question. It is far more dangerous to confuse the present and the future tenses in politics than in grammar.

Evolution is far from consisting, as vulgar evolutionists of the Webb type imagine, in a steady accumulation and continual "improvement" of that which exists. It has its transitions of quantity into quality, its crises, leaps and backward lapses. It is exactly because the Soviet Union is as yet far from having attained the first stage of socialism, as a balanced system of production and distribution, that its development does not proceed harmoniously, but in contradictions.

Economic contradictions produce social antagonisms, which in turn develop their own logic, not awaiting the further growth of the productive forces. We have just seen how true this was in the case of the kulak who did not wish to "grow" evolutionarily into socialism, and who, to the surprise of the bureaucracy and its ideologues, demanded a new and supplementary revolution. Will the bureaucracy itself, in whose hands the power and wealth are concentrated, wish to grow peacefully into socialism? As to this doubts are certainly permissible. In any case, it would be imprudent to take the word of the bureaucracy for it.

The Parasitic Bureaucracy

It is impossible at present to answer finally and irrevocably the question in what direction the economic contradictions and social antagonisms of Soviet society will develop in the course of the next three, five or ten years. The outcome depends upon a struggle of living social forces — not on a national scale, either, but on an international scale. At every new stage, therefore, a concrete analysis is necessary of actual relations and tendencies in their connection and continual interaction. We shall now see the importance of such an analysis in the case of the state.

2. PROGRAM AND REALITY. Lenin, following Marx and Engels, saw the first distinguishing feature of the proletarian revolution in the fact that, having expropriated the exploiters, it would abolish the necessity of a bureaucratic apparatus raised above society — and above all, a police and standing army. "The proletariat needs a state — this all the opportunists can tell you," wrote Lenin in 1917, two months before the seizure of power, "but they, the opportunists, forget to add that the proletariat needs only a dying state — that is, a state constructed in such a way that it immediately begins to die away and cannot help dying away." (State and Revolution.)

This criticism was directed at the time against reformist socialists of the type of the Russian Mensheviks, British Fabians, etc. It now attacks with redoubled force the Soviet idolators with their cult of a bureaucratic state which has not the slightest intention of "dying away."

The social demand for a bureaucracy arises in all those situations where sharp antagonisms require to be "softened," "adjusted," "regulated" (always in the interests of the privileged, the possessors, and always to the advantage of the bureaucracy itself). Throughout all bourgeois revolutions, therefore, no matter how democratic, there has occurred a reinforcement and perfecting of the bureaucratic apparatus. "Officialdom and the standing army — " writes Lenin, "that is a 'parasite' on the body of bourgeois society, a parasite created by the inner contradictions which tear this society, yet nothing but a parasite stopping up the living pores."

Beginning with 1917 — that is, from the moment when the conquest of power confronted the party as a practical problem — Lenin was continually occupied with the thought of liquidating this "parasite." After the overthrow of the exploiting classes — he repeats and explains in every chapter of State and Revolution — the proletariat will shatter the old bureaucratic machine and create its own apparatus out of employees and workers. And it will take measures against their turning into bureaucrats — "measures analyzed in detail by Marx and Engels:

(1) not only election but recall at any time; (2) payment no higher than the wages of a worker; (3) immediate transition to a regime in which all will fulfill the functions of control and supervision so that all may for a time become 'bureaucrats,' and therefore **nobody** can become a bureaucrat." You must not think that Lenin was talking about the problems of a decade. No, this was the first step with which "we should and must begin upon achieving a proletarian revolution."

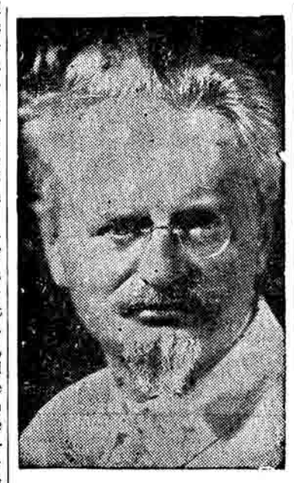
Dual Character of Soviet State

This same bold view of the state in a proletarian dictatorship found finished expression a year and a half after the conquest of power in the program of the Bolshevik party, including its section on the army. A strong state, but without mandarins; armed power, but without the Samurai! It is not the tasks of defense which create a military and state bureaucracy, but the class structure of society carried over into the organization of defense. The army is only a copy of the social relations. The struggle against foreign danger necessitates, of course, in the workers' state as in others, a specialized military technical organization, but in no case a privileged officer caste. The party program demands a replacement of the standing army by an armed people.

The regime of proletarian dictatorship from its very beginning thus ceases to be a "state" in the old sense of the word — a special apparatus, that is, for holding in subjection the majority of the people. The material power, together with the weapons, goes over directly and immediately into the hands of workers' organizations such as the soviets. The state as a bureaucratic apparatus begins to die away the first day of the proletarian dictatorship. Such is the voice of the party program — not voided to this day. Strange: it sounds like a spectral voice from the mausoleum.

However you may interpret the nature of the present Soviet state, one thing is indubitable: at the end of its second decade of existence, it has not only not died away, but not begun to "die away." Worse than that, it has grown into a hitherto unheard of apparatus of compulsion. The bureaucracy not only has not disappeared, yielding its place to the masses, but has turned into an uncontrolled force dominating the masses. The army not only has not been replaced by an armed people, but has given birth to a privileged officers' caste, crowned with marshals, while the people, "the armed bearers of the dictatorship," are now forbidden in the Soviet Union to carry even non-explosive weapons.

With the utmost stretch of fancy it would be difficult to imagine a contrast more striking than that which exists between the schema of the workers' state according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the actual state now headed by Stalin. While continuing to publish the works of Lenin (to be sure, with excerpts and distortions by the censor), the present leaders of the Soviet Union and their ideological representatives do not even raise the question of the causes of such a crying divergence between program and reality. We will try to do this for them.



LEON TROTSKY

3. THE DUAL CHARACTER OF THE WORKERS' STATE. The proletarian dictatorship is a bridge between the bourgeois and the socialist society. In its very essence, therefore, it bears a temporary character. An incidental but very essential task of the state which realizes the dictatorship consists in preparing for its own dissolution. The degree of realization of this "incidental" task is, to some extent, a measure of its success in the fulfillment of its fundamental mission: the construction of a society without classes and without material contradictions. Bureaucracy and social harmony are inversely proportional to each other.

In his famous polemic against Duhring, Engels wrote: "When, together with class domination and the struggle for individual existence created by the present anarchy in production, those conflicts and excesses which result from this struggle disappear, from that time on there will be nothing to suppress, and there will be no need for a special instrument of suppression, the state."

The philistine considers the gendarme an eternal institution. In reality the gendarme will bridle mankind only until man shall thoroughly bridle nature. In order that the state shall disappear, "class domination and the struggle for individual existence" must disappear. Engels joins these two conditions together, for in the perspective of changing social regimes a few decades amount to nothing. But the thing looks different to those generations who bear the weight of a revolution. It is true that capitalist anarchy creates the struggle of each against all, but the trouble is that a socialization of the means of production does not yet automatically remove the "struggle for individual existence." That is the nub of the question!

A socialist state even in America, on the basis of the most advanced capitalism, could not immediately provide everyone with as much as he needs, and would therefore be compelled to spur everyone to produce as much as possible. The duty of **stimulator** in these circumstances naturally falls to the state, which in its turn cannot but resort, with various changes and mitigations, to the method of labor payment worked out by capitalism.

It was in this sense that **Marx** wrote in 1875: "Bourgeois law... is inevitable in the first phase of the communist society, in that form in which it issues after long labor pains from capitalist society. **Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural development of society conditioned by that structure.**"

In explaining these remarkable lines, Lenin adds: "Bourgeois law in relation to the distribution of the objects of consumption assumes, of course, inevitably a **bourgeois state, for** law is nothing without an apparatus capable of compelling observance of its norms. It follows (we are still quoting Lenin) that under Communism not only will bourgeois law survive for a certain time, but also even a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie!"

This highly significant conclusion, completely ignored by the present official theoreticians, has a decisive significance for the understanding of the nature of the Soviet state — or more accurately, for a first approach to such understanding. Insofar as the state which assumes the task of socialist transformation is compelled to defend inequality — that is, the material privileges of a minority — by methods of compulsion, insofar does it also remain a "bourgeois" state, even though without a bourgeoisie. These words contain neither praise nor blame; they merely name things with their real names.

Material Want and the Gendarme

The bourgeois norms of distribution, by hastening the growth of material power, ought to serve socialist aims — but only in the last analysis. The state assumes directly and from the very beginning a dual character: socialistic, insofar as it defends social property in the means of production; bourgeois, insofar as the distribution of life's goods is carried out with a capitalistic measure of value and all the consequences ensuing therefrom. Such a contradictory characterization may horrify the dogmatists and scholastics; we can only offer them our condolences.

The final physiognomy of the workers' state ought to be determined by the changing relations between its bourgeois and socialist tendencies. The triumph of the latter ought ipso facto to signify the final liquidation of the gendarme — that is, the dissolving of the state in a self-governing society. From this alone it is sufficiently clear how immeasurably significant is the problem of Soviet bureaucratism, both in itself and as a symptom!

It is because Lenin, in accord with his whole intellectual temper, gave an extremely sharpened expression to the conception of Marx, that he revealed the source of the future difficulties, his own among them, although he did not himself succeed in carrying his analysis through to the end. "A bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie" proved inconsistent with a genuine Soviet democracy. The dual function of the state could not but affect its structure. Experience revealed what theory was unable clearly to foresee.

If for the defense of socialized property against bourgeois counter-revolution a "state of armed workers" was fully adequate, it was a very different matter to regulate inequalities in the sphere of consumption. Those deprived of property are not inclined to create and defend it. The majority cannot concern itself with the privileges of the minority. For the defense of "bourgeois law" the workers' state was compelled to create a "bourgeois" type of instrument — that is, the same old gendarme, although in a new uniform.

We have thus taken the first step toward understanding the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevik program and Soviet reality. If the state does not die away, but grows more and more despotic, if the plenipotentiaries of the working class become bureaucratized, and the bureaucracy rises above the new society, this is not for some secondary reasons like the psychological relics of the past, etc., but is a result of the iron necessity to give birth to and support a privileged minority so long as it is impossible to guarantee genuine equality.

The tendencies of bureaucratism, which strangles the workers' movement in capitalist countries, would everywhere show themselves even after a proletarian revolution. But it is perfectly obvious that the poorer the society which issues from a revolution, the sterner and more naked would be the expression of this "law", the more crude would be the forms assumed by bureaucratism, and the more dangerous would it become for socialist development.

The Soviet state is prevented not only from dying away, but even from freeing itself of the bureaucratic parasite, not by the "relics" of former ruling classes, as declares the naked police doctrine of Stalin, for these relics are powerless in themselves. It is prevented by immeasureably mightier factors, such as material want, cultural backwardness and the resulting dominance of "bourgeois law" in what most immediately and sharply touches every human being, the business of insuring his personal existence.

4. "GENERALIZED WANT" AND THE GENDARME. Two years before the Communist Manifesto, young Marx wrote: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise (of Communism), because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive." This thought Marx never directly developed, and for no accidental reason: he never foresaw a proletarian revolution in a backward country. Lenin also never dwelt upon it, and this too was not accidental. He did not foresee so prolonged an isolation of the Soviet state.

Nevertheless, the citation, merely an abstract construction with Marx, an inference from the opposite, provides an indispensable theoretical key to the wholly concrete difficulties and sicknesses of the Soviet regime. On the historic basis of destitution, aggravated by the destructions of the imperialist and civil wars, the "struggle for individual existence" not only did not disappear the day after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and not only did not abate in the succeeding years, but, on the contrary, assumed at times an unheard-of ferocity. Need we recall that certain regions of the country have twice gone to the point of cannibalism?

The distance separating tzarist Russia from the West can really be appreciated only now. In the most favorable conditions — that is in the absence of inner disturbances and external catastrophes — it would require several more five-year periods before the Soviet Union could fully assimilate those economic and educative achievements upon which the first-born nations of capitalist civilization have expended centuries. The application of socialist methods for the solution of pre-socialist problems — that is the very essence of the present economic and cultural work in the Soviet Union.

Some Historical Contradictions

The Soviet Union, to be sure, even now excels in productive forces the most advanced countries of the epoch of Marx. But in the first place, in the historic rivalry of two regimes, it is not so much a question of absolute as of relative levels; the Soviet economy opposes the capitalism of Hitler, Baldwin and Roosevelt, not Bismarck, Palmerston or Abraham Lincoln. And in the second place, the very scope of human demands changes fundamentally with the growth of world technique. The contemporaries of Marx knew nothing of automobiles, radios moving pictures, aeroplanes. A socialist society, however, is unthinkable without the free enjoyment of these goods.

"The lowest stage of Communism," to employ the term of Marx, begins at that level to which the most advanced capitalism has drawn near. The real program of the coming Soviet five-year plan, however, is to "catch up with Europe and America." The construction of a network of autoroads and asphalt highways in the measureless spaces of the Soviet Union will require much more time and material than to transplant automobile factories from America, or even to acquire their technique. How many years are needed in order to make it possible for every Soviet citizen to use an automobile in any direction he chooses, refilling his gas tank without difficulty en route?

In barbarian society the rider and the pedestrian constituted two classes. The automobile differentiates society no less than the saddle horse. So long as even a modest "Ford" remains the privilege of a minority, there survive all the relations and customs proper to a bourgeois society. And together with them there remains the guardian of inequality, the state.

Basing himself wholly upon the Marxian theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin did not succeed, as we have said, either in his chief work dedicated to this question (State and Revolution), or in the program of the party, in drawing all the necessary conclusions as to the character of the state from the economic backwardness and isolatedness of the country.

Explaining the revival of bureaucratism by the unfamiliarity of the masses with administration and by the special difficulties resulting from the war, the program prescribes merely political measures for the overcoming of "bureaucratic distortions": election and recall at any time of all plenipotentiaries, abolition of material privileges, active control by the masses, etc. It was assumed that along this road the bureaucrat, from being a boss, would turn into a simple and moreover temporary technical agent, and the state would gradually and imperceptibly disappear from the scene.

This obvious underestimation of impending difficulties is explained by the fact that the program was based wholly upon an international perspective. "The October revolution in Russia has realized the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . The era of world proletarian communist revolution has begun." These were the introductory lines of the program. Their authors not only did not set themselves the aim of constructing "socialism in a single country" — this idea had not entered anybody's head then, and least of all Stalin's — but they also did not touch the question as to what character the Soviet state would assume, if compelled for as long as two decades to solve in isolation those economic and cultural problems which advanced capitalism had solved so long ago.

The post-war revolutionary crisis did not lead to the victory of socialism in Europe. The social democrats rescued the bourgeoisie. That period, which to Lenin and his colleagues looked like a short "breathing spell", has stretched out to a whole historical epoch. The contradictory social structure of the Soviet Union, and the ultra-bureaucratic character of its state, are the direct consequences of this unique and "unforseen" historical pause, which has at the same time led in the capitalist countries to fascism or the pre-fascist reaction.

Stalinist Theory and Practice

While the first attempt to create a state cleansed of bureaucratism fell foul, in the first place, of the unfamiliarity of the masses with self-government, the lack of qualified workers devoted to socialism, etc., it very soon after these immediate difficulties encountered others more profound. That reduction of the state to functions of "accounting and control," with a continual narrowing of the function of compulsion, demanded by the party program, assumed at least a relative condition of general contentment. Just this necessary condition was lacking.

No help came from the West. The power of the democratic Soviets proved cramping, even unendurable, when the task of the day was to accommodate those privileged groups whose existence was necessary for defense, for industry, for technique and science. In this decidely not "socialistic" operation, taking from ten and giving to one, there crystallized out and developed a powerful caste of specialists in distribution.

How and why is it, however, that the enormous economic successes of the recent period have led not to a mitigation, but on the contrary to a sharpening, of inequalities, and at the same time to a further growth of bureaucratism, such that from being a "distortion," it has now become a system of administration? Before attempting to answer this question, let us hear how the authoritative leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy look upon their own regime.

5. THE "COMPLETE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM" AND THE "REINFORCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP." There have been several announcements during recent years of the "complete triumph" of socialism in the Soviet Union — taking especially categorical forms in connection with the "liquidation of the kulaks as a class." On January 30, 1931, **Pravda**, interpreting a speech of Stalin, said: "During the second five-year period, **the last relics of capitalist elements in our economy will be liquidated.**" (our emphasis.)

From the point of view of this perspective, the state ought conclusively to die away during the same period, for where the "last relics" of capitalism are liquidated the state has nothing to do. "The Soviet power," says the program of the Bolshevik party on this subject, "openly recognized the inevitability of the class character of every state, so long as the division of society into classes, and therewith all state power, has not completely disappeared." However, when certain incautious Moscow theoreticians attempted, from this liquidation of the "last relics" of capitalism taken on faith, to infer the dying away of the state, the bureaucracy immediately declared such theories "counter-revolutionary."

Where lies the theoretical mistake of the bureaucracy — in the basic premise or the conclusion? In the one and the other. To the first announcements of "complete triumph", the Left Opposition answered: You must not limit yourself to the socio-juridical form of relations which are unripe, contradictory, in agriculture still very unstable, abstracting from the fundamental criterion: level of the productive forces.

Juridical forms themselves have an essentially different social content in dependence upon the height of the technical level. "Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural level conditioned by it." (Marx) Soviet forms of property on a basis of the most modern achievements of American technique transplanted into all branches of economic life — that would indeed be the first stage of socialism. Soviet forms with a low productivity of labor mean only a transitional regime whose destiny history has not yet finally weighed.

"Is it not monstrous?" — we wrote in March 1932. "The country can not get out of a famine of goods. There is a stoppage of supplies at every step. Children lack milk. But the official oracles announce: 'The country has entered into the period of socialism!' Would it be possible more viciously to compromise the name of socialism?"

Karl Radek, now a prominent publicist* of the ruling Soviet circles, parried these remarks in the German liberal paper, **Berliner Tageblatt**, in a special issue devoted to the Soviet Union (May 1932), in the following words which deserve to be immortal: "Milk is a product of cows and not of socialism, and you would have actually to confuse socialism with the image of a country where rivers flow milk, in order not to understand that a country can rise for a time to a higher level of development without any considerable rise in the material situation of the popular masses." These lines were written when a horrible famine was raging in the country.

"Socialism" in One Country

Socialism is a structure of a planned production to the end of the best satisfaction of human needs; otherwise it does not deserve the name of socialism. If cows are socialized, but there are too few of them, or they have too meager udders, then conflicts arise out of the inadequate supply of milk — conflicts between city and country, between collectives and individual peasants, between different strata of the proletariat, between the whole toiling mass and the bureaucracy.

It was in fact the socialization of the cows which led to their mass extermination by the peasants. Social conflicts created by want can in their turn lead to a resurrection of "all the old crap." Such was, in essence, our answer.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International, in a resolution of August 20, 1935, solemnly affirmed that in the sum total of the successes of the nationalized industries, the achievement of collectivization, the crowding out of capitalist elements and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism and the all-sided reinforcement of the state of the proletarian dictatorship, is achieved in the Soviet Union." With all its categorical tone, this testimony of the Communist International is wholly self-contradictory.

If socialism has "finally and irrevocably" triumphed, not as a principle but as a living social regime, then a renewed "reinforcement" of the dictatorship is obvious nonsense. And on the contrary, if the reinforcement of the dictatorship is evoked by the real demands of the regime, that means that the triumph of socialism is still remote. Not only a Marxist, but any realistic political thinker, ought to understand that the very necessity of "reinforcing" the dictatorship — that is, governmental repression — testifies not to the triumph of a classless harmony, but to the growth of new social antagonisms. What lies at the bottom of all this? Lack of the means of subsistence resulting from the low productivity of labor.

Lenin once characterized socialism as "the Soviet power plus electrification." That epigram, whose one-sidedness was due to the propaganda aims of the moment, assumed at least as a minimum starting point the capitalist level of electrification. At present in the Soviet Union there is one third as much electrical energy per head of the population as in the advanced countries.

If you take into consideration that the soviets have given place in the meantime to a political machine that is independent of the masses, the Communist International has nothing left but to declare that socialism is bureaucratic power plus one third of the capitalist electrification. Such a definition would be photographically accurate, but for socialism it is not quite enough! In a speech to the Stakhanovists in November 1935, Stalin, obedient to the empirical aims of the conference, unexpectedly announced: "Why can and should and necessarily will socialism conquer the capitalist system of economy? Because it can give . . . a higher productivity of labor."

The Marxist Criteria

Incidentally rejecting the resolution of the Communist International adopted three months before upon the same question, and also his own oft-repeated announcements, Stalin here speaks of the "triumph" of socialism in the future tense. Socialism will conquer the capitalist system, he says, when it surpasses it in the productivity of labor. Not only the tenses of the verbs but the social criteria change, as we see, from moment to moment. It is certainly not easy for the Soviet citizen to keep up with the "general line."

Finally, on March 1, 1936, in a conversation with Roy Howard, Stalin offered a new definition of the Soviet regime. "That social organization which we have created may be called a Soviet socialist organization, still not wholly completed, but at root a socialist organization of society." In this purposely vague definition there are almost as many contradictions as there are words.

The social organization is called "Soviet socialist," but the Soviets are a form of state, and socialism is a social regime. These designations are not only not identical but, from the point of view of our interest, antagonistic. Insofar as the social organization has become socialistic, the soviets ought to drop away like the scaffolding after a building is finished.

Stalin introduces a correction: Socialism is "still not wholly completed." What does "not wholly" mean? By 5 per cent, or by 75 per cent? This they do not tell us, just as they do not tell us what they mean by an organization of society that is "socialistic at root." Do they mean forms of property or technique? The very mistiness of the definition, however, implies a retreat from the immeasurably more categorical formula of 1931-35.

A further step along the same road would be to acknowledge that the "root" of every social organization is the productive forces, and that the Soviet root is just what is not mighty enough for the socialist trunk and for its leafage: human welfare.

* Written before the arrest of Karl Radek in August 1936 on charges of a terroristic conspiracy against the Soviet leaders. — Trans.

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THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XX — No. 28 Monday, July 9, 1956

NAACP and Political Action

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has just concluded its convention in San Francisco. The overriding issue before it and the Negro people — all the more urgent because election day is only four months off — was how to utilize the powerful and strategic Negro vote to break the stalemates on school desegregation and civil rights legislation.

The NAACP leaders gave ample time to exposing the current maneuvers of both Democrats and Republicans in Congress to woo Negro voters with phony civil rights maneuvers. They gave the most damning indictment of both parties — their records on school desegregation and civil rights — to the convention. At the closing session Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, put it in a nutshell by saying "they have been scratching each other's back, and we have been left out in the cold."

DID ONE-HALF JOB

Thus the NAACP leaders adequately did one-half of their job — analyzed what was wrong in the present political situation as it affects the Negro struggle. But what did they do about the second-half — explaining what has to be done? After all, leaders are supposed to lead.

Here their words added up to zero as far as practical steps are concerned. In the keynote address, Thurgood Marshall declared that the convention should present to both parties "minimum demands for strong uncompromising planks on civil rights." Such a minimum program is embodied in the resolutions passed by the convention. Neither party will accept this minimum program. What then does Marshall propose? When one presents minimum demands and they aren't met, what is the next step? The delegates weren't told.

At the closing session, Roy Wilkins urged delegates to get out the vote: "If politics can be used for increasing corporation profits, there is nothing wrong in using politics to secure human rights. Everyone else tries to use politics for his benefit; you use it for yours. Don't stammer and don't apologize. Use your vote in behalf of civil rights."

Wilkins left out only one point — what party to vote for in order to get civil rights. Earlier in his speech he had well demonstrated that both Republicans and Democrats had sold the Negro people out time and again on civil rights.

Moreover, Wilkins neglected to point out that the corporations and special interests get what they want out of politics because they have their own party — two of them, Republican and Democratic. The political blind alley that the Negro people — and the labor movement — find themselves in today cries out for the creation of a new party.

MAKE VOTE COUNT

But the NAACP leaders, like their pals, the labor bureaucrats, shy away from even preparing for this next great step forward for the American people. Symbolic of the NAACP leaders' enmeshment with the two capitalist parties is the fact that they invited speakers from the Democratic and Republican parties, which treat their civil rights demands so contemptuously. Yet they did not even acknowledge a request of the Socialist Workers Party campaign committee, asking that it, too, be heard.

To the delegates to the NAACP convention and all others desirous of voting for civil rights, may we submit a definite proposal where the NAACP leaders became so vague? On election day don't vote either for the Republican or Democratic parties, which are rotten to the core with Jim Crow. Vote for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, whose long record in the civil rights and labor movements and whose unequivocal platform prove them to be mortal enemies of all forms of racial discrimination. And at the same time begin the education, missionary work and planning that will lead to the formation of a new party based on labor, the Negro people and the working farmers.

British Labor Hit by Rise in Living Costs

By Oliver Rance

(Special to The Militant)

LONDON, ENGLAND — **As the cost of living rises in Britain, so, from most of the unions come the demands for wage increases. The engineers, miners, builders, woodworkers, foundry workers, printers, boilermakers, agricultural workers, all have their demands.**

And this comes after Anthony Eden had issued his appeal to the union leaders for restraint, and follows Macmillan's scare speech of a fortnight ago when he said that wage increases would jeopardize jobs.

The government accepted the need to pay the last round of wage demands as a tactical inevitability. They were not prepared to engage in a full scale showdown with the industrial working class at that stage. Instead, they sought to prepare the way for the future clash.

First, they appealed to the Trade Union Congress to get the unions to accept a wage freeze. And second, by their financial jugglery, they intended to procure a pool of unemployment to use as a whip against the workers.

But in the face of these fresh demands by the unions, the government, as the spokesman for Big Business, is digging its heels in. Already, there has been an out-of-hand rejection of the claims of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers. Indeed, the claim was denounced as irresponsible!

The increased bank rate and the credit "squeeze" are, of course, beginning to show their effects. There is short time working in some industries and a reduction of overtime in others, so that workers who were cushioned from the rising cost of living to some extent by ability to work extra hours are now beginning to feel the pinch to a greater extent.

The car industry, in particular, is affected doubly. It is hit by the same causes as those affecting the American automobile industry. The heavy competition abroad from the French, German and American cars, is causing a deep crisis in the British sector. And when coupled with the credit restrictions, and their dire affect upon purchase, the position is indeed desperate for the British concerns.

The reaction of the employers can best be judged by Standard Motor Company, who manufacture Standard and Triumph cars and Ferguson tractors. Here, they talk about automation and the need to re-tool in order to compete more favorably in the world's markets.

But for the Standard chiefs, as for the rest of big business, "automation" is synonymous for speed up, with the reduction of the labor force and the greater exploitation of the remainder.

And so, the 12,000 workers at Standard's are confronted with dismissal notices for 2,600 of their number. In face of this, the first big "lay-off" outside the cotton industry, since before the war, the workers struck with the demand that short-time working was the answer and not sackings. However, they were persuaded to return under the usual plea of allowing negotiations to continue.

So far, the Amalgamated Engineering Union has agreed not to call out the workers a second time, despite threats of further redundancy lists, and instead calls upon the government to do something about the whole redundancy question.

The tougher attitude, too, is shown by the government towards the nationalized coal mines and is possibly best illustrated by the story of two pits in South Wales in a place called Gwaun-cae-Gurwen.

There, the miners were told that unless production increased the pits would be closed. And this despite the fact that these two pits constitute the only real industry in Gwaun-cae-Gurwen and indeed for some little distance around.

What was involved, was the forcing out of the area of the people of the township — a punitive migration forced upon the miners unless they would step up production.

But Gwaun-cae-Gurwen is only the first step. Already the National Coal Board has stated that they will take similar steps with regard to other pits. So there is to be a spread of intimidation in mining in an endeavour to increase production and reduce the costly importation of coal into Britain.

Nor can there be any doubts that the railways too will come under pressure for rationalization, with attempts to reduce the labor force in some sectors.

All this as a first step to the softening-up of the industrial working class in preparation for further assaults. But everywhere there is a hardening of the resolve among the workers not to return to the days of mass unemployment. And here in Britain, the working class has not suffered a decisive defeat for many years. The problem now is to develop the right leadership.

Pictured above is a Kremlin tank used by the Stalinist commander of the Soviet garrison in East Berlin against the East German general strike in June 1953 against Stalinist misrule. Last week the Stalinist regime in Poznan used such tanks against striking workers.

. . . Stalinist Troops Shoot Poznan Workers

(Continued from page 1)

nan? The simple fact is that like the East German uprising of June 17, 1953 it was an anti-Stalinist, independent class action of industrial workers who were fighting against unbearable economic conditions and were fed up with bureaucratic brutality, deceit, false promises and indifference to their plight.

Actually, the basic facts of what happened in Poznan are not in dispute. The Polish Stalinist regime, in line with the policy of trying to combine conciliation and concessions with fierce reprisals, has admitted that a mass workers' strike prompted by justifiable grievances took place. The official organ of the Polish Communist Party, Trybuna Ludu, stated: "The economic demands of the workers were to a large extent justified and their grievances were understandable." A government bulletin, declared the need for "carefully distinguishing between provocateurs," whom it blamed for the outbreak, and "the workers of Poznan, who filed justified demands and protested against unjustified cuts of their wages."

Echoing these official admissions of the Polish government, the Stalinist secretary-general of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, said: "The gravity of the Poznan revolt lay in the existence of a profound and widespread discontent among the mass of Polish workers." And he hastened to add: "This malcontent offered favorable ground for the maneuvers of provocateurs."

Trybuna Ludu said the strike started as a result of "badly implemented economic moves" which caused the wages of workers in Poznan to be drastically cut.

"DOESN'T EXIST"

The attitude of the regime to the economic hardship of the workers in Poland is illustrated by an outspoken article in the Po Prostu, a Warsaw newspaper, just two weeks before the Poznan uprising. In reference to the severe unemployment problem the paper said: "This tragic situation is made worse by the fact that our legislature has failed to provide benefits or medical help for the unemployed on the ground that unemployment does not exist."

From all reports, including Polish Stalinist sources, the workers of Poznan sent a delegation to Warsaw on Monday, June 25, to present their demands for a 15% wage increase to retrieve some of the wage losses that had made life unbearably difficult. It was a delegation representing hungry workers asking for enough bread to feed their families. The delegation was arrested when it returned to Poznan on Wednesday, June 27. This apparently touched off the action that started Thursday morning, June 28.

Trybuna Ludu denies the delegation was arrested. It says that a false rumor was spread to that effect, and that was what instigated the strike movement. Granting the accuracy of this version, the question arises: What kind of experience with the regime prompted the workers to so readily believe the "rumor" that their delegation was arrested?

Whether the delegation was arrested or not, it certainly did not get satisfaction in Warsaw for the workers' demands. Trybuna Ludu itself says, "The conflict could have been avoided had the trade unions and the government considered the demands of the workers in time."

In any case the whole incident of the delegation to Warsaw and the reports of its arrest cast serious doubt on the Stalinist assertion that the sole factor determining the timing of the strike was the presence of an international trade fair in Poznan at the time.

Thursday morning, June 28, the workers of Stalin Locomotive Works struck the plant at 7 A.M. The workers gathered in a demonstration outside the plant and then began a march toward the center of the city. The movement spread to other plants and became general throughout the city of 365,000 people. Street car crews struck and joined the parade. So did the truckdrivers. Small shops closed up. The workers' parade, marching 20-abreast, moved into the center of the city.

Trybuna Ludu's version of the beginning of the general strike is different only in one detail. It reports that the strike started in one section of the Zizpo engineering plant, where the worst wage cuts had taken place, then spread to the rest of the plant and then to the Stalin Locomotive Steel Works where the workers were "very embittered."

Various accounts of what happened when the workers came to Poznan's center agree on a number of salient facts: When the workers marched into the main city square local authorities either disappeared or expressed sympathy with the marchers. One government functionary was heard to remark: "Warsaw should know that we will not stand for this any longer." Such a mood among the lower party hierarchy is confirmed by the denunciation Trybuna Ludu later made against the "lax and cowardly" party officers who scampered for safety and "did not return from hiding until order was restored."

Soldiers marching in formation to the fair grounds broke ranks and fraternized with the strikers. Local police offered no resistance to the marchers.

TANKS MOVE IN

At noon tanks and anti-aircraft guns, levelled for direct firing, rolled into the city. The demonstration was surrounded.

An Associated Press dispatch, from Frankfurt, Germany, June 29, quotes a West German reporter who witnessed the subsequent scene:

"Machine guns were brought up against the demonstrators. The first shots were fired shortly after. Women and children fled to their homes. The workers however, tightened their ranks. They locked their arms and began to march against the soldiers. Then the officers gave orders to shoot. The first victim lay dead on the cobblestones. The angry mob tore branches from the trees and rushed against the military shouting the demand for freedom.

"A flag was put over the dead man. Others lifted him and carried the body before them as they surged forward.

"The second victim was a Polish soldier. He refused to fire his gun. An officer pointed his pistol at the soldier and killed him."

The encounter now grew sharp. An order was given to open direct fire. The workers, carrying their dead comrade before them, advanced on the soldiers. They captured two tanks. During the rest of the day they moved to all parts of the city. The jail was captured, prisoners freed, records destroyed and the jail burned down. Communist Party headquarters were attacked, the radio station occupied. The offices of the Security Police were the special target of the demonstrators.

When the workers marched into the square in the morning they were chanting "Bread, bread, bread," and "Strike — General Strike." During the rest of the day, reports of slogans and workers' remarks include a statement to foreign reporters: "This is our revolution," the workers said, "We are striking to let the outside world know how things are with us. Tell the world what we are doing."

One worker told an observer, "We are living in a prison. Things cannot go on like this."

A number of reports tell of slogans demanding that "Russians leave Poland."

One immediate conclusion flows irrefutably from the events — even from the official Stalinist version. The Polish Communist Party, not to speak of the regime itself, is completely isolated from the problems, daily lives and struggles of the factory workers. Obviously the party and the regime form an upper crust of those who run the state apparatus and the various party institutions.

The whole formation cannot be regarded as anything but a bureaucratic caste of arrogant, privileged and nervous appointees to power. The ingrained conception of such a caste is that it is the sole dispenser of all the good things in life. Any idea that the workers have the right to struggle independently is alien and abhorent to them. Mass independent struggles of the workers is the very antithesis of the bureaucracy — they hate and fear such activity. They do everything in their power to crush it.

Take at face value, for a moment, the fantastic assertion of the Stalinists that this whole seething movement of the working class in Poznan was a mere catspaw of a few spies and provocateurs. Isn't that charge in itself the measure of the police mentality of this bureaucratic elite, who are saturated from head to foot with contempt for the working masses.

And what is the substance of the spy charge? On June 28 the official news agency, P.A.P., declared that the Poznan "disturbances. . . bore the imprint of a large-scale and carefully prepared provocative and diversionary action." That means the government built its charge of the workers being dupes of spies and provocateurs purely on the evidence of the visible mass movement itself. We are not informed by so much as a hint of definite, proven imperialist agents operating in the situation. We are not told what they did, or how they turned the legitimate grievances of the workers into channels of "diversionary" and "provocative" activity. On what then do they base their charge?

The answer is self evident. For the Stalinist bureaucrats a strike of the workers under their rule is considered an act of high treason to begin with. And, if instead of scattering at the first shots from the machine guns of the Stalinist armed forces, the workers conduct a battle, win over a part of the soldiery and attack the most hated institutions of the bureaucratic dictatorship — that is construed as ample evidence that imperialist agents were leading these workers by the nose.

As a clincher the bureaucrats ask: "How can the workers rise against their own state?" This is of course the nub of the question. The bureaucrats in the Soviet Union, who usurped power by destroying Lenin's Bolshevik party, along with their appointed henchmen in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe, identify the workers' state, established by the October 1917 revolution, with themselves.

HISTORICAL LAW

But history is revealing the deeper laws of the proletarian revolution which started in Russia: A workers' state suffered degeneration; it became dominated by an uncontrolled, parasitic caste of bureaucrats. In the course of the further development of the world class struggle, the workers' state can experience a new revolutionary impulse from the working class in upsurge. This upsurge leads to the path of a political revolution that will regenerate the workers' democracy on which the workers' state was founded.

That is the most profound meaning of the events in Poznan. It is another sign of world-shaking significance that the working class of the Stalinist-dominated, and bureaucratically deformed workers' states, is moving toward a political revolution. That is the reality underlying the volatile movement on the surface of Soviet society where the bureaucrats hold their congresses and engage in the frantic gyrations observable since the death of Stalin and the East German uprising.

The pressure of the industrial working class of the Soviet orbit is also what accounts for the seemingly contradictory alternations from the policy of concessions and reforms to the policy of brutal suppression. The workers of Poland, as of all the other countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself, are more and more boldly advancing their demands. They are putting irresistible pressure on the bureaucracy. Palmiro Togliatti, the old Stalinist functionary at the head of the Italian Communist Party, unerringly put his finger on the meaning of this development. "If Stalin had lasted longer," he said, "the point of rupture might have been reached."

The "point of rupture" means the mass uprising of the working class. And that's what the Stalinist bureaucracy is trying desperately to save itself from — by both concessions and repressions. But like every ruling group in history it wants to place one small limit on the concessions, namely, that its power, prestige and revenue remain intact. That, however, is precisely what the workers' political revolution can not concede.

The only weapon the bureaucracy in Poland had at its disposal in dealing with a mass movement of the working class was the weapon of brute force. That, and the hope that an all-out campaign of slander against the workers of Poznan, coupled with severe reprisals, will discourage the repetition of similar attempts in any other part of their domain.

EXAMPLE OF HISTORY

The bureaucrats should consult their history books. Neither violence nor slander can stop a revolution, and that, we repeat, is what is brewing in the Soviet orbit, a workers' political revolution. This revolution will no more serve the interests of decadent world capitalism than the October revolution served the interests of German imperialism in 1917 — despite the illusions of the Kaiser to the contrary. One year after the Russian Revolution the crowns of the European monarchs were rolling in the streets.

The political revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will be a mighty factor in hastening the downfall of world capitalism. By the overthrow of the bureaucracy the vast creative power of the Soviet and East European working class will be released. If the Soviet Union was able to accomplish miracles of productive development under the system of planned economy despite the terrible and costly obstruction of Stalinism, imagine what the working class will be able to accomplish under a regime of workers' democracy.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are now preparing to organize a mass purge in Poland in an attempt to crush the independent class movement of the workers in the initial stage of its development. Under the circumstances, the Communist workers of the world have an urgent duty to perform. They must raise their voices against the strikebreaking terrorism of the Stalinist machines. They must side with their class brothers in Poland and elsewhere. They must meet the test of international revolutionary solidarity as it is posed today — on the workers' side of the class barricades that were raised in the streets of Poznan.

. . . Anti-Stalinist Wave

(Continued from page 1)

the audience, dwelt in detail on the degeneration of the party and regime of the Hungarian "Peoples' Democracy." A particularly damning indictment of the economic privileges of the bureaucracy, the material base of Stalinism both in the USSR and in the East European countries, was delivered by Professor Gyula Hadju of the University of Budapest, who has spent 50 of his 74 years in the socialist and communist movements.

"How can the Communist leaders know what is going on?" he asked. "They never mix with workers or ordinary people, they don't meet them in streetcars because they all ride automobiles, they don't meet them at stores or in the market place because they have special stores, they don't meet them in hospitals because they have special sanatoriums."

Raising the slogan, **"the party** leaders must go," Prof. Adju charged that every socialist old-timer, who had ideals or wanted a moral life, had been murdered or expelled from the Stalinized party.

An even stormier and larger meeting in Budapest a few nights later was reported in the Yugoslav press. The story was an eyewitness account by a Yugoslav correspondent who had been there on his way home from covering Marshall Tito's visit to Moscow.

Over 1,000 people crammed into a hall in which the Petofi Youth League had called a meeting. Another 5,000 heard the speeches by loudspeakers set up in other rooms of the building. The unprecedented meeting went on until 3 A.M. More than 80 people spoke. The New York Times correspondent in Belgrade gives (July 2) the following account of the meeting from reports in the Yugoslav press:

"Tiber Deri, well-known Hungarian Communist writer, said it was not enough to criticize personalities. What is needed, he said, is a deep analysis of the causes of Hungary's troubles. . . he demanded the removal of leaders who had been making one mistake after another but still had not been called to account for their actions. 'It is high time that an end be made to this present regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats,' he declared.

"Maetin Horvath, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party and editor of its central organ Szabad Nep, sought to reply. However, his attempt to excuse his own mistakes and errors made by the party, excited derision and he was unable to finish his speech, according to the report.

"Zoltan Vas, another member of the Central Committee, took a different line. . . He said that the new policy adopted by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow had made it possible for Communists to breathe more easily. 'Before, the situation was such that if someone knocked on your door at six you prayed it would turn out to be the milkman and not a representative of another institution,' he was reported to have said. He asserted that the Hungarian party was beginning to adapt itself to the resolutions of the Soviet party congress, but there were loud cries of 'Too slow!'

"At 2:30 A.M. Geza Lovoncy, who recently was rehabilitated after long imprisonment, rose to demand that the voice of Imre Nagy be permitted to be heard publicly. He declared that Mr. Nagy had been expelled from the party in disregard of his support by many of its members. The audience answered with shouts of 'Put him back in the party.'"

The Yugoslav press also reported that a number of old Communists had met with the Petofi Youth Club ten days prior to the meeting and had openly discussed past purges in the party.

The Christian Science Monitor (July 2) reports: "Hungary's Communist Party said Poznan proved the 'danger that enemies of Hungary will provoke unrest has become increasingly greater.' The party Central Committee attacked the Petofi League, a Budapest organization of students and intellectuals, and associates of former Premier Imre Nagy, who was ousted by party boss Matyas Rakosi last year."

Szabad Nep, official Communist Party paper in Hungary, attacked the Petofi League and particularly writer Tibor Neri Deri as follows: "Tibor Deri used the discussion to attack brutally and openly the unity of the party. He also attacked the leaders of the party. He declared that 'our liberation is going to start only now' and asked the audience to spread his anti-party ideas throughout the country."

In Czechoslovakia it would appear also that at this moment the students and intellectuals are the most vocal in demanding radical political and economic changes. However, it should be kept in mind that in 1953, around the time of the East Berlin general strike and uprising, a wave of strikes swept this most industrially advanced of the "Peoples' Democracies."

Last April, students seized upon the opportunity that the Czech government, in line with the 20th Congress, afforded to make mild criticism. However, instead of mild criticisms the students used the occasion to parade throughout the city with slogans of strong criticism, satires and demands for drastic changes, including an independent press and opposition parties. The alarm of Premier Viliam Siroky's government and the Czech CP shows that the students' slogans have been embraced by the workers.

Since then the government and the CP have been denouncing the students. Their demands, both political and those dealing with university matters, have been rejected. Also rejected has been a demand from a section of the Czech CP for holding a special party congress, at which a new central committee might be elected.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, JULY 9, 1956 — NUMBER 28

Notebook of an Agitator

By James P. Cannon

Joseph Vanzler

To comrades throughout the world who are familiar with his writings and translations of Trotsky's works, he was known as John G. Wright. His real name was Joseph Vanzler. His friends never called him anything but "Usick." The obituary articles by other comrades will, I am sure, give an account of the essential facts of his life and the many contributions he made to our movement over the past quarter of a century. It is an imposing record.

Here I wish only to say a few words in memory of Usick as a friend. I first remember meeting him 23 years ago at a party forum on the German crisis, in the days when Hitler was coming to power. He was obviously deeply disturbed by the German events and spoke excitedly at the forum. Soon afterward he joined our organization, and I gradually came to know him. It took time to know him as he really was, however, because the real man didn't reveal himself very well in branch debates.

It took personal association, over a long time, to know the real Usick. Our association during the first year or so was dominated by conflict over one question of party policy and another. In 1934 we came to agreement on party policy and perspectives for the long pull and were reconciled in an unbroken union that lasted 21 years. We became more than comrades in the political struggle. We became friends.

Over that long stretch of time, without a break at any point, Usick gave me what everyone needs — I, perhaps, most of all — and that is simple freindship. It is the hardest thing to find, but it can't be got in any other way except by finding it. In present day business and politics people tend to think of "friendship" as a relation based on the exchange of favors. It implies calculation and dependence of one kind or another. But friendship, as I understand it, is no good unless it is disinterested, free from any taint of self-concern.

The friendship that gives freely without counting, is the only friendship worth talking about. That, I imagine, will be the normal, taken-for-granted relation of congenial people in their communion with each other in the future. But in the class society of the present, with its lack of freedom and its artificial values, such friendship is exceptional. When such a person as Usick comes along, with his simple, almost child-like trust, his appeal to the best in others and his readiness to believe the best about them, it is hard at first to believe that it is real.

Usick lived for more than 50 years in a transition period of the history of humanity. It is a mere interlude in the long evolution of the human race, but it has encompassed all our lives, and the lives of many generations. In this historical interlude, mankind, losing even the memory of its communal solidarity of earlier milleniums, has descended into the underworld of competitive class society in order to forge there the weapons for its liberation from helpless dependence on nature, and to create the material conditions for its re-emergence in the communal solidarity of classless society in the future.

The present world of class society, wherein all human relationships are tainted by conflicts of interests, was a world Usick never made and he was not made for it.

He was our most learned man. Indeed, in the many broad fields which were the subject of his thought and study — the whole range of Marxism, history, philosophy and world literature — it is doubtful that the workers' movement anywhere in the world possessed a comrade so roundly learned as Usick was. He was an intellectual. If there is uch a thing as a pure intellectual, one concerned with theoretical ideas as a primary interest, Usick was one. He was also a pure idealist, in that his whole life was devoted to the socialist ideal, but he knew and taught that the ideal must rest on material foundations and can be realized only in the struggle of classes.

Usick's learning and his idealism were his strength — and also his weakness. At home in the broad ocean of theoretical concepts, Usick floundered helplessly in the narrow creeks of practical affairs in the workaday world; and that included the political and party struggle, which, unfortunately, is not always free from the malignant influences of the class society it strives to change. Usick, the scholar and idealist, didn't know how to take care of himself in the rough-and-tumble business of the political fight, which others handle by reflex action, almost without thinking about it. He needed help there, lest he be taken advantage of.

It was here that a few of us, who had learned how to fight for our place under the banner without forgetting the larger aims of our struggle; how to survive in the political alley-fights and protect ourselves and others against the groin-kickers and eye-gougers — came to Usick's aid. We valued him for his learning, for his real and solid contributions to the cause, and we would not allow him to be thrust aside. I am proud of that, and it is my consolation in sorrow today.

Usick gave a lot to the party and thereby to the great cause it represents. His contributions of steady daily work — his articles, lectures and translations — added considerably to the sum total of the party's capital, and all those who have inherited this capital are his debtors.

To his friends he has left the memory of uncounted acts of generosity and kindness, of simple service simply given, which helped to take the rough edges off many a tough personal situation. The grief is too deep for tears, but we hope and believe that the memory of Usick, as he was in life, will be stronger than the grief. Usick helped the cause he believed in, and helped his friends to persevere. He helped to build our faith in men by showing us the example of a communist man. None of us can hope to do more. His life was not lived in vain.

Los Angeles, Calif.
June 25, 1956

...Memorial Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

March, when his failing heart confined him to the house for the second time in six months. At the very moment when Trotskyism was receiving its most far-reaching vindication, Usick was unable to continue the work to which he had devoted the best part of his life — the work of analyzing developments in the Soviet Union. "It is a cruel irony," Stein observed, "that the mortal crisis of Stalinism should coincide with a crisis in Usick's health."

Stein explained the difficulty he faced when visiting comrade Wright during his illness. "At times I hesitated to visit him for fear that the strain of the political discussions he insisted upon would sap his declining energy and have an adverse effect on his heart. But I also knew that if I failed to discuss politics with him it could have an even worse effect on his recovery.

"Once when he persisted in discussing heatedly, as was his manner, the developments in the Soviet Union, I pleaded with him to forget politics for a while and to conserve his meager energy. He looked at me with an expression of great hurt and said, 'I'm disappointed in you. I thought you knew that if I cannot talk politics, I cannot live.'"

Discussing comrade Wright's contributions to the struggle against Stalinism, Stein said, "While all of us Trotskyists abhored Stalinism, I don't believe anyone, except Stalin's direct victims, suffered as much as Usick during the dark years of Stalin's rule. Stalin not only offended his beliefs, but his very qualities as a man.

"Usick was an extremely gentle person. He couldn't tolerate brutality in any form. He was intensely loyal to ideas, to comrades, to friends, to his party, to the world working class. He was extremely scrupulous in questions of theory. When citing facts or quotations in polemics, he valued truth above all else. As a man he was the antithesis of a Stalinist. Stalinist treachery, the endless lies and falsifications, to which others might become inured, always distressed him.

"Usick was steeped in the history of the Bolshevik Party and of the Russian Revolution like few other people. He made a minute study of the personalities and the role they played. He knew them as if he had worked and lived with them. The torture and murder of the old Bolsheviks at Stalin's hands was keenly felt by him. Usick considered each one a personal friend lost.

REASON FOR PRIDE

"We have reason to be proud," Stein concluded, "of the Party which inspired Usick to give his all; and which he enriched because he lived in it."

Joseph Hansen, who had worked for many years with comrade Wright on the editorial staff of The Militant and the magazine, Fourth International, observed that the memorial meeting afforded the opoprtunity to share recollections that combined to give a more rounded picture of comrade Wright to all.

He pointed out that comrade Wright could have easily made a career for himself in the capitalist world. He could have done so, Hansen said, as a writer and translator who possessed great technical skill, combined with a strong artistic sense.

At the same time he had open to him a promising career in the scientific world. He was an expert in colloidal chemistry who had been invited to accept such a career by the Soviet Union.

HAD WARM HEART

If he had chosen to remain a business man, as he was when he entered the revolutionary movement, Hansen said, he certainly would have been a successful one. He possessed the necessary drive and energy, and his appreciation of the laws of capitalist economy was not simply theoretical.

"Comrade Wright was a combination of the artist and scientist," Hansen said. "But in addition to a high intelligence and great natural talent, he had a warm heart. It was this combination, I think, that brought him to revolutionary socialism."

Describing comrade Wright's contributions to the collective work of the party, Hansen affirmed: "Those contributions will have their effect on the forward movement of humanity. That is genuine immortality, the only immortality there is. Usick won that. This knowledge should help alleviate the pain we feel at his loss.

"But at the same time," he concluded, "as one who worked closely with him for two decades, I can't help saying that things will never be quite the same now that he is gone. There was only one Usick. There will never be another like him. It was a privilege to have known him, to have worked with him, and to have fought with him shoulder to shoulder in the greatest cause there is."

Tribute to John G. Wright

National Committee members in Los Angeles, and the Los Angeles Branch, join with comrades in New York and throughout the party in mourning the death of Comrade John G. Wright, able and valiant fighter for the socialist revolution.

The passing of Usick, as he was affectionately known among comrades, is a severe loss to the entire international Trotskyist movement. We join with comrades everywhere in our deepest sympathy for Doris, his wife, companion and helper. Her poingnant sense of loss is shared by all of us.

In a very real sense, Usick was irreplaceable, for he was the translator of the writings of Trotsky, which enriched and preserved the heritage of Marxism through the long period of Stalinist reaction. In this work, he earned the unstinting praise of Trotsky himself for his painstaking conscientiousness and high competence in rendering the Russian texts into English.

Usick burned himself out in the service of socialism. He was a tireless contributor to the party press and an active participant in the daily life of the party, ever appearing as an exponent of Marxist theory and a defender of principled class politics. This activity, spread over more than a quarter-century, made Usick a true veteran in the fight for a new world.

Comrades may find some comfort in the fact that during the closing days of his life, Usick was able to witness the beginning of the end of the abomination of Stalinism, to whose destruction he had devoted himself with burning zeal. His work will fructify when fresh thousands of young proletarians surge on to the field of the class struggle. They will arm themselves with the Trotskyist ideas that Usick helped make available to them as they move forward to the final victory over capitalism.

Los Angeles, Calif.
June 24, 1956

NEXT WEEK

In The Militant

"When Communism Comes to America"

By Leon Trotsky

Text of Goldway Speech on '56 Election

[We publish below a tape recording transcription of the speech by David Goldway, executive secretary of the Jefferson School, at the Brooklyn Compass Club symposium, Sunday June 24. Goldway supported the Communist Party position on election policy in the 1956 campaign. The symposium topic was: Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections. Other speakers were: Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, W. E. B. Du Bois, educator and Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party mayoralty candidate in New York. We published last week the text of Farrell Dobb's speech and will publish next week the speech of Clifford T. McAvoy.]

By David Goldway

Mr. Chairman, fellow panelists, friends: I would first commend the Brooklyn Compass Club for arranging this symposium. Gatherings such as this for the expression of divergent points of view among left and socialist-minded people cannot but be a positive factor in American political life. It is to be regretted that such discussions have taken place so infrequently in the recent past, and it is a wholesome sign of the times I guess that they're beginning to take place now.

I want to begin with premises somewhat similar to those enunciated by Mr. Dobbs. I think all the speakers on our panel are in agreement concerning the necessity of a basic political change in our country. I think we all agree that socialism is the only ultimate solution of the problems of the American people, and I think we are likewise all solidly in agreement that the Republican and Democratic parties as now constituted are instruments designed to serve the political needs of Big Business.

DIFFER ON APPROACH

Where we differ is in our approach to these questions in terms of what they mean for working class political action in 1956. It is my hope that in the process of expressing our differences, debating our points of view and examining various approaches, we will all come by this to a correct understanding of working class policy for this election year.

Let me enunciate the foundations of my approach to working class policy in 1956. These foundations are as follows:

(1) The program for 1956 should make a contribution, if at all possible, to the most pressing, immediate needs of the working class, the Negro people, the family farmers, professionals and other middle class groupings. The chief of these immediate needs as I see them, are peaceful coexistence and disarmament, a measure of economic security and prosperity for the masses of people, an end to segregation and dincrimination against the Negro people in our country, and restoration of democracy and the Bill of Rights.

(2) This program should have as a major objective the exposing of the political rule of Big Business, and especially its most reactionary elements: the McCarthyites in the Republican Party and the Eastland Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party.

(3) It should help to undermine the present two-party straitjacket and contribute toward the formation of a new political alliance. Fourth and finally: I believe it should provide avenues for educating the people to understand that the only satisfactory ultimate solution for our country is the establishment of democratic socialism in the United States.

MUST BE REALISTS

How can such objectives be achieved? No matter how passionately we yearn for these objectives or goals, our starting point in my opinion must be the realities of today. What exists here and now. Wishful thinking, utopian fantasy, youthful fulminations — these will not help. Therefore looking at our tasks in 1956, I think this attention should be given to the issues.

The most superficial view of the election campaign of the major parties thus far reveals that the spokesmen of these parties have made their primary objective the smothering and evasion of issues. What the Republicans would like the issue to be is just Ike. We like Ike. And if the people could think no further than that, the Republican high command would be happy. As for the Democratic politicians, their number one candidate, Adlai Stevenson, began his campaign on the emptiest of all possible notes: Moderation.

Yet life itself, and the pressure of important sections of the people, are bringing to the fore a number of real issues that will to one degree or another force themselves into the 1956 electoral struggle and even influence the two big capitalist parties who dominate the electoral scene. In my judgment the issues that will to one degree or another assert themselves in 1956 are:

First: The militant battles of the Negro people to enforce the Supreme Court desegregation decision, to win the right to vote, to end the reign of terror in the South and to carry out an ever increasing offensive against Jim Crow in all phases of American life.

Second: An agricultural crisis, which is causing deep ferment in the rural area undoubtedly will be bound to make itself felt in the election campaign this year.

Third: A host of economic problems, which promise to be more severe in the coming months, and which are already plaguing large sections of workers and sections of small business. These economic issues will force themselves forward in 1956.

Next, the continuing and growing demand to clean out McCarthyism and restore the freedom of thought and opinion embodied in the Bill of Rights is and will be more of an issue in the 1956 election. Finally, continuing changes in the international situation pose ever more sharply the necessity for basic changes in American foreign policy and these questions must be discussed in 1956.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Thus far these issues have not been suggested to any considerable degree by the major parties, as I have already indicated. But even in the period up till now, which is still four and a half months before election day, these issues have, made themselves felt. Take the civil rights issue in the Democratic Party. Stevenson came into the campaign calling for moderation and seeking to evade the civil rights issue. The course of his primary struggle, especially with Estes some degree to abondon his mod-Kefauver, has forced him to eration line on civil rights and increasingly he has been forced to take positions on this question.

In any event if the working class and progressive forces succeed in giving overriding emphasis to issues in the 1956 campaign, they will thereby lay the basis for wresting concessions on these issues no matter who wins the election.

Another key working class task in 1956 as I see it, is to defeat the most reactionary candidates from both major parties and to elect as large a number of candidates as possible who favor progressive social legislation, civil rights, civil liberties and a genuine path to peace.

..This means two things. First, to help defeat the avowed McCarthyites, Dixiecrats and other ultra-reactionaries in both parties. In New York it means concentration on the defeat of such incumbent congressmen as Donovan and Coudert. At the same time it means fighting for the nomination and election of labor, Negro and progressive candidates in a considerable number of districts, where such a thing is possible. And in upper New York State the possibility for winning nominations for labor candidates on the Democratic Party ticket is a real one, the possibility for increasing Negro representation in the legislature is a real one, and these are issues that must be seized hold of by the working class.

Another major working class task in 1956 as I see it, is the ousting of the Republican administration and the Cadillac cabinet and the removal of the paralyzing grip of the GOP-Dixiecrat alliance from Congress. In asserting the objective of defeating the GOP administration, I want to make clear that I am not calling for the defeat of the GOP and the Cadillac cabinet at all costs or for giving a blank check to the Democratic Party.

DEFEAT GOP

Let us look concretely at what a policy of favoring the defeat of the GOP and the Cadillac cabinet in the national elections really means. My premise is that the GOP cannot be defeated as things now stand. Assuming that Eisenhower recovers, becomes the GOP standard bearer, and the Democratic Party remains as is; that is, a vacillating and flabby bundle of contradictions dominated by the Lyndon Johnson, Sam Rayburn line of party unity with the Dixiecrats and collaboration with the Eisenhower administration.

To defeat the Cadillac cabinet it is necessary to presuppose a defeat for the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party, a new approach to such key issues as peace, and a new boldness and militancy by the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. It means further important changes in the attitude of labor, the Negro people and other progressive forces toward the Democratic Party. On the part of these groups there must be a real spirit of independence, a real insistence that the Democratic Party either take a forthright position on key issues or forfeit the support of these groups, without which the Democratic Party cannot win.

TO PROD BOTH

Suggesting the slogan of defeating the GOP Cadillac cabinet therefore, in this way, means the opposite of a blank check to the Democratic Party. Rather, suggesting such a slogan is the best way in my judgment, to bring issues to the forefront in the campaign, to prod both parties, and to guarantee that the people will get some concessions whoever wins in November. In addition, a defeat for the GOP under such conditions will probably put into office an administration a little more amenable to pressure from the people the four years after election.

A further task for the working class in the '56 elections is essentially a political arm of such organizations as the AFL-CIO, the NAACP, THE ADA, etc. To the degree that these groups intensify their political militancy and vigilance, progressively, will the 1956 campaign move closer to grappling with the real issues. To the degree that they refrain from putting pressure on the major parties, to that degree will the elections tend to assume a tweedle-dum, tweedle-dee, character.

The strengthening of the independent political activity of the organizations of labor, the Negro people and the liberal middle class is also important because it is from these sectors of the population and from their chief organizations that will come the new political realignment that our country so desperately needs.

Whatever form it takes it is clear that we must have such a regrouping. It is my judgment that objective events will put such a perspective on the order of the day in the not at all distant future.

ATTENTIVE EAR

Finally, there is an important place in the 1956 campaign for political groupings that espouse the cause of socialism for the American people. Such groups can be of enormous value by placing the question of socialism, if even only in an educational sense before the whole country. I am sure that greater numbers than ever will be willing to give an attentive ear to to such a discussion of socialism.

However, the propogation of socialist ideas must not be undertaken in such a manner as to stand in the way of achieving the immediate goals, which it is possible to achieve in 1956. Any such advocacy of socialism will be rejected out of hand by the workers and the group making such an advocacy will doom itself to sterile isolation.

THE HIGH ROAD

If, on the other hand, the spokesmen for socialism show how the tasks of the day and the ultimate achievement of socialism are interconnected, then they will be making an enormous contribution both to the cause of socialism and to the struggles of the moment. Once the socialist-minded left learns how to do this, and it's much easier to say it than to do it, once we learn how to do it, we will all be on the high road to socialism in our country.

Myra Weiss Analyzes World Stalinist Crisis

BUFFALO, June 30 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, addressed a meeting here tonight on recent developments in the Soviet Union. With a good advance press coverage, the meeting was well attended and a lengthy, animated discussion on the crisis of world Stalinism followed her presentation.

MYRA TANNER WEISS

FLAYS DULLES

The Buffalo Courier-Express reported the view of the SWP spokesman that the Khrushchev revelations of Stalin's crimes will be a body blow to the American Communist Party and that a regroupment of radical workers around the SWP can be anticipated.

Discussing the recent workers uprising in Poznan, Mrs. Weiss castigated Secretary of State Dulles' expression of "sympathy" to families of Polish workers slain in the revolt as "hypocritical to the core."

In an interview with the Buffalo Evening News, Mrs. Weiss said, "The SWP is opposed to the regime of Bulganin and Khrushchev . . . the present bureaucrats all participated in the terror regime." We are witnessing the beginning of a "political revolution in the Soviet Union," she said. Mrs. Weiss forecast that the outcome will be the complete elimination of the bureaucracy. "The day of Bulganin and Khrushchev are numbered," she added.

CRITICAL LETTERS

Critical letters to the Daily Worker, she said, "show that rank and file communists are shocked by the developments and are trying to understand how the terrible regime in the Soviet Union came to power."

The next public meeting for SWP vice-presidential candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, will be Philadelphia, where she will speak on "The Coming Downfall of Khrushchev and Company." The meeting will be held Friday, July 13, 8:30 PM, at the Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Avenue.

Stalinists Warn of 'Plot' To Seduce Stevenson

By John Thayer

The "new line" of the Daily Worker is very curious. It resembles to a T the "old line" of the 1952 election and the even older line of Browder — the line — old and new — is simply support of the Democratic Party.

Although defenders of the Communist Party line, such as David Goldway, executive director of the Jefferson School, have maintained that the CP will not give the Democrats a blank check, such statements are being disproved with every new edition of the Daily Worker.

The issue of July 2, for exampel carries a front-page article entitled "The Plot to Tie Adlai Stevenson to Dixiecrats." The impression the headline gives the reader, of course, is that the knot has not yet been tied. To swallow this, one has to wipe from his mind Stevenson's extended visits to the South in the past two years precisely to make deals with the Dixiecrats. Also wipe out such facts as racist Herman Talmadge's endorsement of Stevenson, as well as that by the Governor of Mississippi.

What is the "plot" against Stevenson that the Daily Worker wishes to arouse its readers about? It is a most unusual conspiracy by any standards. The leaders of the Southern wing of the Democratic Party, Speaker Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Johnson, are "plotting" to swing the Southern delegations at the Democratic convention to Stevenson early thus giving him the nomination. According to the Daily Worker writer, Rob F. Hall, who somehow knows what is going on in Stevenson's innocent m i n d , "Stevenson apparently is unaware of a plot."

The "plot" is growing by leaps and bounds: "Rayburn has already predicted that Stevenson will be nominated on the second ballot. His plan is to offer Stevenson the 54 votes of Texas, (which on the first ballot will go to favorite son Lyndon Johnson), the 36 votes of North Carolina, the 24 votes of Louisiana, and the 26 votes of Arkansas, if Stevenson will agree to the terms of the Southern bloc. And Rayburn expects to be able to scare up the additional votes necessary if Adlai meets his specifications."

Was ever such a dastardly plot against a capitalist politician heard of?

By getting him the nomination, the Bourbon politicos want to make Stevenson "beholden to the Southern bloc for his nomination." This is not an unusual expectation at capitalist party conventions — after all it takes two to make a bargain. How does Hall think Stevenson got those Southern delegations already pledged to him?

How can Daily Worker readers and those they can influence in the labor and Negro movements foil the "plot" against Stevenson? The Minnesota Democratic convention, has shown the way, according to Hall. It "voted unanimously to throw the state's 26 votes now committed to Kefauver, to Stevenson," as soon as they are released. Now if other supporters of Kefauver, Harriman and various favorite sons will also swing to Stevenson before the Dixiecrats can nominate him then the "plot" would fail. Stevenson would then be "beholden" to Northern liberals.

This is the line the CP is peddling today. It is asking workers and Negroes to expend their energy, money and votes in the flimsy hope of "stealing" the Dixiecrats' candidate from them.

To Goldway's statement, cited at the beginning of this article, that the CP would not give the Democrats a blank check, Farrell Dobbs, also a speaker at the Brooklyn symposium countered with the prediction that the CP would swallow whoever the Democrats put up in the coming elections. It was a prediction that is being borne out as fast as the Daily Worker presses can roll.

Philadelphia

Militant Labor Forum

Hear
MYRA TANNER WEISS
Socialist Workers Party
Vice-Presidential Candidate
speak on
Khrushchev and the Polish Workers Uprising
Fri., July 13 — 8:30 P. M.
1303 W. Girard Ave.
Discussion Refreshments
Donation 35c.

Los Angeles

Public Meeting

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The Polish Workers Uprising
Speaker:
THEODORE EDWARDS
Marxist Writer and Lecturer
Friday, July 13 — 8 P. M.
2936 W. 8th St.
Adjoining Channing Hall
Auspices:
Socialist Workers Party